

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06 CIAE-00

DODE-00 EA-07 EUR-12 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-06 SS-15 SAI-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, UR, UNGA

SUBJECT: UNGA DISARMAMENT: SOVIET MEMORANDUM ON DISARMAMENT

1. USSR INTRODUCED SEPT 28, IN CONJUNCTION WITH GROMYKO
UNGA STATEMENT (SEPTTEL), A "MEMORANDUM OF THE SOVIET UNION
ON QUESTIONS OF ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND DISARMAMENT"
(FULL TEXT POUCHED IO/UNP). MEMORANDUM, TO BE CIRCULATED AS
UNGA DOCUMENT, PARALLELS IN ESSENTIAL RESPECTS DISARMAMENT
PORTION OF GROMYKO ADDRESS, WITH MORE DETAIL ON SOME ISSUES.
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IT DEALS WITH NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT; COMPREHENSIVE TEXT BAN (CTB),

NONPROLIFERATION; CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW); NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (MDW); REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS (INCLUDING ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES); INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE (IOPZ); MEDITERRANEAN; REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS (ROB); WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC); AND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:

-- SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS INVOLVING ALL NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND INCLUDING NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES;

--WILLINGNESS TO SEEK COMPROMISE VERIFICATION PROCEDURES FOR A CTB PERMITTING VOLUNTARY DECISIONS ON ON-SITE INSPECTION;

-- READINESS TO EXAMINE NON-NATIONAL CONTROL PROVISIONS FOR VERIFICATION OF A CW AGREEMENT, PARTICULARLY METHODS FOR VERIFICATION OF DESTRUCTION OF CW STOCKS;

-- CALL FOR MEASURES FOR REDUCTION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND ARMED FORCES;

-- WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE WITH OTHER POWERS REDUCTION OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN;

-- ENDORSEMENT OF IDEA OF SPECIAL UNGA SESSION ON DISARMAMENT AS STEP TOWARD A WDC.

SUMMARY FOLLOWS.

2. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. MEMORANDUM STATES FIRST STEP IS TO STOP MANUFACTURING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, EQUIPPING ARMED FORCES WITH THEM, AND DEVELOPING NEW TYPES OF SUCH WEAPONS. THIS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED OR IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED BY REDUCTIONS IN STOCKS, WITH TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS TO PEACEFUL PURPOSES. REDUCTION OF WEAPONS STOCKS SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY REDUCTION OF MEANS OF DELIVERY. SIMULTANEOUSLY, MEASURES SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN FOR LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. THIS PROCESS IS "INCONCEIVABLE" UNLESS ALL NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES (NWS) TAKE PART. USSR IS PREPARED TO ENGAGE TOGETHER WITH ALL OTHER NWS IN "COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT PROBLEM IN ALL ITS SCOPE AND ELABORATION OF CONCRETE WAYS OF ITS PRACTICAL SOLUTION." USSR "HAS NO OBJECTIONS" TO NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES (NWS) ALSO PARTICIPATING.

3. CTB. MEMORANDUM ASSERTS THAT CONDITIONS ARE RIPE FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF A CTB, "PARTICULARLY AS A RESULT OF SIGNING" OF US-SOVIET PNE TREATY, WHICH ESTABLISHES PROCEDURE FOR PNE

THAT "WILL PRECLUDE THEIR USE FOR PERFECTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS."
RECALLING 1975 SOVIET CTB RESOLUTION, MEMORANDUM SAYS IT IS
"NECESSARY TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS PROMPTLY." IT REJECTS
ARGUMENT THAT TELESEISMIC MEANS ARE INSUFFICIENT TO VERIFY
COMPLIANCE WITH A CTB BUT DOES NOT REJECT ON-SITE INSPECTION:
"THE SOVIET UNION IS CONVINCED THAT NO PARTICULAR DIFFICULTIES
SHOULD ARISE IN ELABORATING SUCH A COMPROMISE BASIS FOR AN
AGREEMENT AS WOULD ENSURE A VOLUNTARY FRAMEWORK FOR TAKING
DECISIONS RELATING TO ON-SITE ASCERTAINING OF RELEVANT
CIRCUMSTANCES AND, AT THE SAME TIME, IMPART CONFIDENCE TO ALL
PARTIES TO THE TREATY THAT THE OBLIGATIONS ARE COMPLIED WITH."

4. NONPROLIFERATION. MEMORANDUM STATES IT IS "IMPORTANT
TO STRIVE FOR THE NPT TO BECOME TRULY UNIVERSAL" (NO HOLDOUTS
ARE MENTIONED BY NAME). IT ALSO ASSERTS THAT OTHER
TYPES OF ACTION ARE NECESSARY. NOTING THAT INTERNATIONAL
COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS, EQUIPMENT, AND
TECHNOLOGY WILL LEAD TO INCREASED PRODUCTION OF
PLUTONIUM THAT CAN BE USED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
MEMORANDUM STATES THAT NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS BEAR SPECIAL
RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT STRICT SAFEGUARDS ARE NEEDED TO
PREVENT NUCLEAR COOPERATION FROM BECOMING CHANNEL FOR
SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT ALSO STATES THAT SOVIET
UNION "RESOLUTELY ADVOCATES THE NEED FOR PERFECTING
IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY THE SYSTEM OF CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR
INSTALLATIONS AND MATERIALS EXERCISED BY THE IAEA" AND
IS READY TO COOPERATE TOWARD THIS END WITH ALL
INTERESTED STATES.

5. CW. REAFFIRMING SOVIET PREFERENCE FOR A SINGLE-STEP
COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON ALL CHEMICAL WEAPONS, MEMORANDUM
AT SAME TIME RECONFIRMS SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO START
WITH AN AGREEMENT ON PROHIBITION AND ELIMINATION OF
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THE MOST DANGEROUS, LETHAL TYPES OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS,
ADDING THAT A "SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS END
COULD BE THE IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE 1974 US-SOVIET
AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER A JOINT INITIATIVE IN THE CCD.
ON VERIFICATION, MEMORANDUM STATES THAT CONTROL SHOULD
BE EXERCISED, AS IN BW CONVENTION, BY "NATIONAL MEANS."
HOWEVER, IT GOES ON TO ASSERT THAT "THE SOVIET UNION
IS READY TO EXAMINE A POSSIBILITY OF USING ADDITIONAL
CONTROL PROCEDURES AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO DISCUSS
METHODS OF VERIFYING THE DESTRUCTION OF STOCKS OF
CHEMICAL WEAPONS."

6. MDW. MEMORANDUM SAYS NEGOTIATIONS ON NEW MDW SHOULD
BE GIVEN "TOP PRIORITY." IT PROPOSES, AS AN APPROACH TO
DEFINITION, THAT NEW MDW INCLUDE "ANY TYPES OF WEAPONS

BASED ON QUALITATIVELY NEW PRINCIPLES OF ACTION --
ACCORDING TO THE METHOD OF USE AND THE TARGETS TO BE
ATTACKED OR THE NATURE OF THEIR IMPACT." EXAMPLES CITED
ARE "RAY WEAPONS CAPABLE OF AFFECTING BLOOD AND INTRA-
CELLULAR PLASMA, INFRASOUND WEAPONS DESIGNED TO DAMAGE
INTERNAL ORGANS AND AFFECT HUMAN BEHAVIOR, AND GENETIC
WEAPONS THE USE OF WHICH WOULD AFFECT THE MECHANISM OF
HEREDITY." NEW "SYSTEMS" OF MDW INCLUDE NOT ONLY
SYSTEMS FOR NEW TYPES OF MDW BUT ALSO SYSTEMS "INTRODUCING
NEW TECHNICAL ELEMENTS OF COMBAT OR SUPPORT MEANS" THAT
CAN INCREASE DANGEROUS CHARACTERISTICS OF WEAPONS BASED
ON EXISTING PRINCIPLES: "AERO-SPACE SYSTEMS OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS ON THE BASIS OF TRANSPORT SPACE SHIPS MAY SERVE
AS AN EXAMPLE."

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ACTION IO-13

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DODE-00 EA-07 EUR-12 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

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7. REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS. NOTING INCREASING DESTRUCTIVENESS OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, MEMORANDUM ASSERTS NEED FOR "FEASIBLE MEASURES TO REDUCE AIRCRAFT, ARTILLERY, TANKS, AND OTHER MODERN TYPES OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AS WELL AS ARMED FORCES EQUIPPED WITH THESE WEAPONS." IT RECALLS SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR CEILINGS ON ARMED FORCES OF MAJOR STATES AND SAYS THAT "EVEN NOW THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS." IN ADDITION, MEMO STATES DESIRABILITY OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"NEW EFFORTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL TO BRING ABOUT THE ELIMINATION OF ALL MILITARY BASES IN FOREIGN TERRITORIES AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS FROM SUCH TERRITORIES."

8. IOPZ. IN NOTABLE SHIFT OF SOVIET POSITION, MEMORANDUM EXPRESSES "UNDERSTANDING" FOR IOPZ IDEA AND ASSERTS THAT "THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE PREPARED TOGETHER WITH OTHER POWERS TO SEEK WAYS FOR REDUCING ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS MILITARY ACTIVITIES OF NON-LITTORAL STATES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND IN THE REGIONS DIRECTLY ADJACENT TO IT." IT NOTES THAT SUCH MEASURES "MUST FULLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT" INTERNATIONAL LAW ON FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON THE HIGH SEAS AND NEED FOR "ASSOCIATED BUSINESS CALLS" AT PORTS AS WELL AS FOR RESEARCH. PAPER ASSERTS THAT "KEY QUESTION" IS TO ENSURE ABSENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES IN REGION AND DISMANTLING OF EXISTING ONES. "AS TO THE SOVIET UNION, IT DID NOT AND DOES NOT INTEND TO BUILD MILITARY BASES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN." MEMORANDUM FURTHER NOTES THAT USSR IS "PREPARED TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF ITS ATTITUDE" TOWARD THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE ON THE INDIAN OCEAN. COMMENT. GROMYKO'S STATEMENT WAS MORE EXPLICIT IN STATING THAT SOVIETS WERE PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN PREPARATIONS FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE PROVIDED THEIR CONCERNS WERE MET. END COMMENT.

9. MEDITERRANEAN. MEMO RECALLS EARLIER SOVIET PROPOSAL TO US THAT US AND USSR WITHDRAW FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN THEIR SHIPS AND SUBMARINES CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STATES THAT THIS PROPOSAL IS "STILL VALID."

10. MEMO BRIEFLY EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE PROPOSALS AND ASSERTS THAT USSR IS IN FAVOR OF "STOPPING THE ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITHIN THE

FRAMEWORK OF A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE
MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

11. ROB. IGNORING THE EXPERTS' STUDY UNDER THE SYG'S
AUSPICES OF TECHNICAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE MEASUREMENT
AND COMPARISON OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, MEMO REFERS TO
1973 SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR TEN PERCENT REDUCTION OF
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MILITARY BUDGETS OF PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL AND SAYS SOVIETS ARE FLEXIBLE ON PERCENTAGE
REDUCTION TO BE AGREED UPON. IT PROPOSES THAT AGREEMENT
ON A FIGURE "GREATER OR SMALLER THAN 10 PERCENT" BE
REACHED AS A FIRST STEP DURING 1977, ADDING THAT THE
QUESTION SHOULD BE MADE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE A SUBJECT
OF "BUSINESSLIKE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE STATES
CONCERNED."

12. WDC AND SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. MEMO
ONCE AGAIN ENDORSES CONVENING OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT
CONFERENCE AS A FORUM FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF "CARDINAL
CHANGES IN THE SOLUTION OF THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM."
IT ADDS, HOWEVER, THAT A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNGA
COULD BECOME AN APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR DISCUSSING
DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, DETERMINING WAYS OF SOLVING
THEM, AND WORKING OUT A LONG-TERM PROGRAM OF PRACTICAL
STEPS. A SPECIAL SESSION WOULD BE "AN INTERIM STAGE
WHICH SHOULD BY ITS DECISIONS PREPARE A BROAD AND RADICAL
REVIEW OF THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM AT THE WORLD
(DISARMAMENT) CONFERENCE." CRYPTIC CONCLUDING COMMENT
STATES THAT SPECIAL SESSION "SHOULD NOT BE RESTRAINED
BY STRICT TIME LIMITS OR THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED AT THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSIONS, INCLUDING SPECIAL SESSIONS."
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISARMAMENT, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, DIPLOMATIC NOTES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976USUNN04005
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760366-0640
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976095/aaaaaebd.tel
Line Count: 315
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 NOV 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 NOV 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <03 AUG 2004 by BoyleJA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UNGA DISARMAMENT: SOVIET MEMORANDUM ON DISARMAMENT
TAGS: PARM, UR, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006